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the following persons were declared to be duly elected members of the Society :—

Prof. Angelo Heilprin, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Ambrose E. Lehman, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Dillwyn Parrish, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Phillip C. Garrett, of Germantown, Philadelphia.

Mr. Elisha Kent Kane, C. E., of Philadelphia.

And the meeting was adjourned.

Mediæval Sermon-Books and Stories. By Professor T. F. Crane, of Ithaca, New York.

(Read before the American Philosophical Society, March 16, 1883.)

It is the object of this article to direct attention to an important source of mediæval history which has long remained neglected. We allude to the great collections of stories made chiefly for the use of preachers, which, besides giving a picture of the culture of the later middle ages, such as can nowhere else be found, throw a flood of light upon the diffusion of popular tales.* Before considering these specific works, we shall examine briefly several other collections, also having a moral scope, but intended for the edification of the general reader. From the present article are excluded the Western translations of Oriental story-books, even where they approach the specifically Christian collections as closely as does the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi.†

Until the beginning of the twelfth century, the literature of the class to which the adjective entertaining may be applied, was almost exclusively Christian and legendary. There still survived, it is true, historical and mythological reminiscences of the classical period, but these secular elements

* Thomas Wright, *Latin Stories* (Percy Society, Vol. viii), pp. vii-viii, first, to our knowledge, called attention to this subject. See also K. Goedeke, *Every Man, Homulus und Hekastus*, Hanover, 1864, p. viii; and *Orient und Occident, Eine Vierteljahrsschrift*, herausgegeben von T. Benfey, i, p. 531 (*Asinus vulgi*).

† The literature of the subject will be mentioned *passim*, but a few recent works of general interest may be noticed now, and hereafter they will be cited by the authors' names alone. A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire française du moyen âge, spécialement au treizième siècle, d'après les manuscrits contemporains, Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. Paris, 1868; L. Bourgain, *La Chaire française au XII^e siècle, d'après les manuscrits*, Paris, 1879; R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter*, Detmold, 1879. A good survey of the French field will be found in C. Aubertin, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1876-1878, Vol. ii, pp. 296-386, and a review of Lecoy de la Marche's work may be found in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, 15. Aug., 1869, *Les Sermons du Moyen Age*, by Aubry-Vitet.

were swallowed up in the vast legendary cycles of the Church.* This slender stream, was, however, about the time of the Crusades, swollen by a torrent of Oriental fables and stories, which maintained their supremacy in the learned world until the Revival of Letters, and then became the cherished patrimony of the illiterate classes, and still delight the people of all Europe.† The influence of this Oriental element upon the literature of the West was profound, affecting its form, and contributing a mass of entertaining tales which owe their diffusion and popularity largely to their absorption into the various later Occidental story-books. The literature of which we are speaking would have remained unknown to the people, had they been compelled to make its acquaintance by reading. Fortunately, there existed an ecclesiastical channel by which some scanty rills of a literature not exclusively ecclesiastical trickled among the people, and this channel, curiously enough, was the pulpit. The origin, mode, and matter of this oral diffusion will constitute the subject of the present article, after the ground has been cleared by a rapid survey of three characteristic works which form a group by themselves.

The method of instruction by figures, parables, apologues and the like, is too old to be referred to Christian symbolization of classic mythological elements.‡ This undoubtedly gave a specific development to the existing tendency, and resulted in the mediæval *bestiaires* and *lapidaires*. The employment of fables for serious didactic purposes is also Oriental, and all students of later mediæval literature know the vast influence of the *Pantschatantra* in its various versions. The earliest one which could have any influence on the Orient was the Latin translation by Johannes de Capua, *Directorium humanæ vitæ*, made between 1263–78, and based on the Hebrew version of Rabbi Joel (1250). The so-called Esopian fables were preserved in the paraphrase of Romulus, the existence of which as early as the tenth century has been clearly proved by Oesterley.§ It is all the stranger, then, that the earliest distinctively mediæval collection of fables shows no traces of a specific Oriental or classic influence—we refer to the *Speculum Sapientie*.

* For the popularity of Valerius Maximus, to which we shall later recur, see Kempf's edition, Berlin, 1854, pp. 47 *et seq.*, and for mythological reminiscences in the poems of the Troubadours, see Diez, *Die Poesie der Troubadours*, Zwickau, 1836, pp. 127, 140, and Birch-Hirschfeld, *Ueber die denprovenzalischen Troubadours des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts bekannten Epischen Stoffe*, Halle, 1878, *ad init.*

† It is not true that Oriental fiction was introduced into Europe by the Crusades; not only had the transmission been going on at a much earlier date (see Benfey's *Pantschatantra*, Leipzig, 1859, Vol. I, p. xxii), but the earliest Oriental collection, the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi, was probably written before the first Crusade, quite certainly before 1106, the date of the Jewish author's conversion to Christianity.

‡ See Bartoli, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Florence, 1878, Vol. I, p. 83, who attributes the above origin to the mediæval moralizations. We are more inclined to trace it to the influence of the Orient.

§ *Romulus: Die Paraphrasen des Phædrus und die Äsopische Fabel im Mittelalter*, von H. Oesterley, Berlin, 1870.

tiae attributed to a certain Bishop Cyril.* Who Bishop Cyril was is not known, and Græsse is compelled to refer the work to a certain *Cyrrillus de Quidenon poëta laureatus*, a Neapolitan from Quidone, a small town in the province of Capitanata, in the kingdom of Naples, who flourished in the XIII century. He was a learned theologian, as Græsse remarks, who has taken the trouble to note the numerous passages cited from the Bible, and he was also an acute scholastic philosopher. He was not acquainted with Æsop, and from a remark he makes in Book I, cap. 18. it is evident he knew no Greek. His work is of little importance for the history of mediæval fiction, for it exerted not the slightest influence.† It is, however, interesting in itself, and was translated into German, Spanish, and Bohemian. The author, in the prologue, makes an elaborate apology for the form of his work. This is so characteristic of this class of writings that we quote a few lines which may also give some idea of the author's extraordinary style. He says: "Secundum Aristotelis sententiam in Problematis suis quamquam in exemplis in discendo gaudeant omnes, in disciplinis moralibus hoc tamen amplius placet, quoniam structura morum ceu ymagine picta rerum similitudinibus paulatim virtutis ostenditur, eo quod ex rebus naturalibus, animalibus, moribus et proprietatibus rerum quasi de vivis imaginibus humanæ vitæ qualitas exemplatur. Totus etenim mundus visibilis est schola et rationibus sapientiæ plena sunt omnia. Propter hoc, fili carissime, informativa juventutis tuæ documenta moralia non de nostra paupertate stillantia sed de vena magistrorum tibi nunc scribere cupientes cum adiutorio gratiæ Dei ea trademus, ut intelligas clarius ac addiscas facilius, gustes suavius, reminiscaris tenacius per fabulas figurarum." A glance at the contents of the book will show that the learned author was more concerned with the moral of his fables than with the fables themselves.‡ No attention, except in a few rare cases, is paid to the nature of the animals brought upon the scene, and they are made to utter the most arbitrary and incongruous lessons. A translation of one of

* This singular work has recently been made accessible to scholars by the edition in the *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Bd. 148, *Die beiden ältesten lateinischen Fabelbücher des Mittelalters, des Bischofs Cyrrillus Speculum Sapientiae und des Nichotaus Pergamenus Dialogus Creaturarum*, herausgegeben von Dr. J. C. Th. Græsse. The full title is: *Speculum Sapientiae Beati Cirilli Episcopi, alias Quadripartitus Apologeticus vocatus, in cujus quidem Proverbiis omnis et totius Sapientiae Speculum claret*. The book had become very rare and was known chiefly from an old German translation, selections from which were published as late as 1782: *Fabeln nach D. Holtzmann, herausgegeben von A. Gl. Meissner*, Leipzig. 4to. Græsse has given in his edition, pp. 285-302, all the necessary biographical and bibliographical notices.

† Græsse, *ed. cit.*, p. 291, says, "Im Mittelalter selbst kann er von seinen Zeitgenossen nicht benutzt worden sein, denn ich habe nirgendswo in den aus dem 13.-16. Jahrhundert erhaltenen Schriften sein Werk citirt oder benutzt gefunden."

‡ In this respect there is a regular gradation in the three works now under consideration. In the *Speculum Sapientiae* the moral is the all-important thing, in the *Dialogus Creaturarum* the fable becomes more attractive, while in the *Gesta Romanorum* the story is everything, and the moralization is tacked on merely to justify a sometimes very loose anecdote.

Cyril's apologues will be the best illustration of his peculiarities. We have selected one of the shortest, which is introduced by the sentence, *Unū dilectissimo tantum, cum necesse fuerit, pectus crede*. The Raven and the Dove, Book I, cap. 20. "While a raven was ruminating in his mind to whom he could occasionally communicate the secret of his heart, a dove beholding him thinking these things, approached him, saying: 'What art thou thinking, brother, in such deep meditation?' To whom he replied: 'Verily, I am now thinking that infinite is the number of fools and small indeed that of the wise, for the thought of the heart itself is most secret. For who reveals what he thinks, shows his heart. What, therefore, art thou, that I may give and entrust to thee my heart so precious to me, my most hidden life, my very inmost substance, the most secret root of my being? My secret is mine, because my heart is mine!' Then the dove, having heard these things, added: 'I know, indeed, that thou art cunning by nature. Wherefore I ask thee, brother, to instruct me, to how many and to whom, if it be necessary, I may safely entrust my heart at times.' He soon consenting, willingly said: 'Forsooth, either to one or to none, for perfect faith is seldom found. This, however, is made a very precious vase, for in it the heart is advantageously preserved, because neither of itself is it ever destroyed, nor broken by the sword or other thing, nor is its wonderful solidity transfixed by the most subtle sting of heat. For nature hides the vein of gold in the secret places of the earth, and the plant strikes its quickening root deep in the solid ground. Thus the most precious marrow is hidden in the bones, and God has placed the ice-like gem of sight under the hemispheres of seven veils. No wonder then that the mouth of the wise is hidden in his heart, since this is to him most dear, that thus it may be concealed and, possessed by the heart, hidden in the ark of life. But the heart of the fool is in his mouth, because the mouth rules his heart, and having an open breast despising the heart, it is easily cast forth by a slight breath, wherefore he quickly perishes, since for nothing he casts away the vein of life.' After she had diligently noted these things, the dove thus instructed departed."

The *Speculum Sapientiae*, as we have already said, is of little value for the history of mediæval fiction or the diffusion of popular tales. Scarcely a thing to which the adjective fabulous will apply, is to be found in the work. Græsse mentions only the story of Gyges (iii, 4), the Indian gold mountains (iii, 10), and the death of the viper (iii, 26; iv, 8, 10), which is found in all the *bestiaires*.* Cyril does not seem to be acquainted with Aesop, although the fourth chapter of the first book, *De cicada et formica* is Esopian. There are also some fox fables (e. g. i, 24) which resemble some of the episodes of the *Roman du Renart*, and a number of the fables have a certain similarity to those in well-known collections.†

* See, for example, Dr. G. Heider, *Physiologus*, Wien, 1851, p. 28, and the *Bestiaire de Gervaise* in the *Romania*, i, p. 420, *et seq.*, verse 501.

† Græsse's references, p. 291, are full of errors: La Fontaine i, 1, = Cyril i, 4; i, 22 = ii, 14 (cp. iii, 13); i, 2 = ii, 15 (the fox praises the singing of the cock, who

Of much greater literary interest, although by no means so profound or original, is the *Dialogus Creaturarum* of an otherwise unknown author, Nicolaus Pergamenus.* The form of this work closely resembles that of the *Speculum Sapientiae*; there is the same apologetic prologue, and the same arbitrary treatment of the subject, but already the desire to interest has assumed prominence, and the fable proper is followed by a mass of sentences, anecdotes, &c. The work contains one hundred and twenty-two dialogues not divided into books. The work, as Græsse (p. 303) shows, cannot be earlier than the middle of the XIV century. The writer, as a glance at the list of authors cited will show, was familiar with the whole range of mediæval literature, including the classic authors popular at that time.† He does not seem any more acquainted than Cyril with the great Oriental collections of fables as such, although separate fables from the *Pantschatantra* may have reached him through western channels, as Græsse states, p. 304.‡ Instead of the half dozen fables in Cyril's work which may be compared with those of other collections, Nicolaus Pergamenus offers a rich field for the student of comparative storiology, if we may coin a convenient word. The absorption of Oriental elements into literature from oral tradition had already begun, and from literature, as we shall see later on in this article, these elements were to return again to the people, and thus the process was to be repeated over and over again until we are no longer surprised at the marvelous diffusion of mediæval stories.§ An English

thereupon descends from the tree and is devoured); vii, 12 = iii, 4; iii, 17 = iii, 11. His other references are incorrect. We have noticed the following: La Fontaine, ii, 19 = i, 18, 16 (slightly); ii, 11 = i, 18; ix, 4 = ii, 14 (cp. iii, 13). The edition of La Fontaine cited in this article is, *Fables inédites des XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, et Fables de La Fontaine rapprochées de celles de tous les auteurs qui avoient, avant lui traité les mêmes sujets, précédées d'une notice sur les Fabulistes*, par A. C. M. Robert, 2 vols., Paris, 1825. This edition will be hereafter cited as Robert, *Fables inédites*, or La Fontaine.

* This work is reprinted in Vol. 148 of the *Stuttgart Litt. Vereins*, mentioned above.

† The list given by Græsse, p. 281, needs careful revision. The following are some of the most necessary corrections: Alfonsus (that is Petrus Alfonsi *Disciplina Clericalis*), *De Prudentia*, 122, add 56; add *Catholicon* 90; add *Nugis philosophorum*, 23, 115; add *Martialis*, 108 (instead of 109).

‡ It may perhaps be noted here that La Fontaine's well-known fable of *La Laitière et le Pot au Lait* is found in the *Dialogus Creat.*, c. 100. Max Müller (Chips., iv, 170) gives the old English translation of this version, and says: "In it, as far as I can find, the milkmaid appears for the first time on the stage," &c. The version in Jacques de Vitry and Etienne de Bourbon, which will be mentioned later, must be both of them earlier, or as early, and it is probable that in this case, as in so many others, Jacques de Vitry introduced the fable to Europe. A pleasant account of the fortunes of this fable may be found in *Histoire de deux Fables de La Fontaine, leur origines et leurs Pérégrinations*, par A. Joly, Paris, 1877. The other fable is vii, 1, *Les Animaux malades de la Peste*.

§ The following corrections and additions to Græsse's references, p. 304, will be of use to the student. References XXXI, XXXIV, and XLVI belong to XXX, XXXIV and XLVII, respectively; add XLIII, Pauli, 256; the references to XXXVI and XL are incorrect; of the various references given to XLVI (should

translation of the *Dial. Creat.* was published about 1517 and reprinted in a limited edition in 1816.

The third work to be mentioned in this connection is the well known *Gesta Romanorum*. We do not propose in this limited space to approach the still vexed question of the date and nationality of this famous work.* Its importance is not great in the abstract, the number of stories valuable for the *Culturgeschichte* of the middle ages is small, but the part the work has played in the transmission of a vast body of classical and Oriental tales is enormous. Already the morality has been swallowed up in the story, and the aim is to amuse under the pretext of instruction. Other similar collections will be noticed, later out-growths of the homiletic compilations, but the *Gesta Romanorum* stands alone, an independent and original collection, the earliest Occidental effort to throw off the shackles of purely ecclesiastical entertaining literature. The three collections which we have just briefly considered are the only ones intended for the edification of the general reader, and it is only the third which reveals a growing taste that before long was satisfied by Boccaccio and the French *fabliaux*, or by such purely secular collections as the Italian *Cento Novelle antiche*. The mass of material at the disposal of the collector in the XIII and XIV centuries was enormous, besides the vast compilations of legends in the *Vitae Patrum* and *Legenda Aurea*, there were the relics of classical lore, and the new flood of Oriental fiction, both written and oral. In addition to all this, a tendency now shows itself to collect anecdotes, etc., of famous contemporaries. Much of the above material would have perished, and certainly the circle of its influence would have been comparatively narrow, had not a new need made itself felt, and a new market, so to speak, been opened for these wares.

The duty of public preaching, which, at first was reserved for the bishops, was extended later to the priests, but it was for a long time a privilege jealously guarded and restricted to comparatively few. The

be XLVII) La Fontaine, vii, 16, is alone correct; to LXXXIX add *Gesta Rom.*, 29; to XCIII, *Schluss*, add *Gesta Rom.*, 103; the references to C are to three different stories: I "Bird in the hand," *Gesta Rom.*, 467; Kirchhof, iv, 34; II "Dog letting go meat for reflection in water," Pauli, 426; III "*La Laitière et le Pot au Lait*," La Fontaine, vii, 10, Kirchhof, i, 171; the reference to CI. *Gesta Rom.*, 108, is incorrect; both references to CVI are incorrect; of those to CVIII, *Gesta Rom.*, 140, is incorrect, as is also La Fontaine, v, 21; to CX (cp. xlii), La Fontaine, iii, 9, is incorrect; CXII contains two fables: I "*Colombæ et Milvi*," and II "Town and Country Mice," to I belongs Kirchhof, 7, 146, to II Kirchhof, i, 62, and La Fontaine, i, 9, erroneously referred to CXIII; to CXVII add La Fontaine, iii, 9; to CXVIII, *Gesta Rom.*, 63, instead of 52, other references are incorrect; finally to CXXII add Petrus Alfonsi, p. 83, ed. Schmidt, and *Gesta Rom.*, 31.

*It should seem that little remained to be done after Hermann Oesterley's masterly edition (Berlin, 1872), but the results of his painstaking investigations are chiefly negative. It may be impossible to determine its nationality, but it seems as if more light might be thrown on its age and mode of compilation. The results of Oesterley's studies are given to the English reader in the Introduction to the Early English Versions of the *Gesta Romanorum* (Early English Text Soc. Extra Series, xxxiii, 1879).

foundation in the XIII century of the two great orders of Dominicans and Franciscans, the former, *par excellence* the *ordo prædicatorum*, gave an enormous impulse to preaching and quite changed its character.* The monks of these orders obeyed literally the words of the Founder of Christianity, and went into all the world and preached the Word to every creature. The popular character of the audiences modified essentially the style of the preaching. It was necessary to interest and even amuse the common people, who, as we have incidentally shown, were becoming accustomed to an entertaining literature more and more secular, and who possessed moreover an innate love for tales. It is chiefly to this fondness for stories and to the preachers' desire to gratify it that we owe the great collections of which we are about to speak. In the composition of the mediæval sermon, which had, moreover, a certain fixed form, the stories, or, to give them the name they then bore, and which we shall use hereafter, *exempla*, were reserved for the end, when the attention of the audience began to diminish.† The value of these *exempla* for awakening the attention and instructing the people is everywhere conceded.‡ These stories are sometimes as long as the rest of the sermon, sometimes, when they refer to a well-known recital, they merely quote the title or a few words of the beginning. The use of *exempla*, properly speaking, is rare before the XIII century (L. de la Marche, p. 276), and was apparently first introduced as a principle by Jacques de Vitry. This eminent prelate and scholar was born in the early part of the last half of the XII century, and took his name either from the village of Vitry on the Seine near Paris, or from a town of the same name on the Marne in Champagne. He studied in Paris from 1180–90, and became a *presbyter parochialis* at Argenteuil near Paris. In 1210 he went to Brabant and became a canon at Villebrouck and afterwards at Oignies, where he was the intimate friend of the enthusiast, Mary of Oignies, whose life he wrote after her death in 1213. From 1210–1217 he preached the crusade against the Albigenses, and took part in the

* The relative importance of these orders may be inferred from the fact that of two hundred and sixty-one French preachers of the XIII century ninety-one were Dominicans and forty-five Franciscans; see Aubertin, ii, p. 308, n. 3.

† In fine vero, debet uti exemplis, ad probandum quod intendit, quia familiaris est doctrina exemplaris, Alanus de Insulis, *Summa de arte prædicatoria*, cap. I, ed. Migne, p. 113.

‡ Herolt in the Prologue to his *Promptuarium Exemplorum* says: "Utile et expediens est viros predicationis officio predictos proximorum salutem per terras discurrendo quærentes exemplis abundare. Hæc exempla facile intellectu capiuntur et firmiter memoriæ imprimuntur et a multis libenter audiuntur. Legimus enim principem nostrum Dominicum ordinis prædicatorum fundatorem hoc fecisse. De eo quidem scribitur quod ubicumque conversabatur edificatoris effluebat sermonibus, abundabat exemplis quibus ad amorem Christi sæculi ve contemptum audientium animos provocabat." Etienne de Bourbon in the Prologue to his treatise, says: "Quia autem ad hæc suggerenda et ingerenda et imprimenda in humanis cordibus maxime valent exempla, quæ maxime erudunt simplicium hominum ruditatem, et faciliorem et longiorem ingerunt et imprimunt in memoria tenacitatem."

expedition. After the capture of Narbonne in 1217 he was made Bishop of Accon (Acre) in Palestine, where he remained, taking an important part in the crusades. In 1227 he returned to Rome, and between 1228-30 was made a cardinal and Bishop of Tusculum by Gregory IX, who employed him on several missions. He was offered the patriarchate of Jerusalem, but refused it, and died at Rome in 1240.* He is chiefly known by his *Historia orientalis* which extends from 622-1218. We are, however, especially interested in his sermons. We have seen above that he was an enthusiastic preacher of the Albigensian crusade, and Etienne de Bourbon says of him: "Vir sanctus et litteratus * * * prædicando per regnum Franciæ et utens exemplis in sermonibus suis, aded totam commovit Franciam, quod non putat memoria aliquem ante vel post sic novisse." His printed sermons (Antwerp, 1575) are what are technically known as *Sermones de tempore et sanctis*, and are distinguished from the mass of sermons of that day by the use of less scholastic argument and more examples borrowed from history and legend. His unpublished sermons (*Sermones vulgares*) are, as L. de la Marche says, literally crammed with stories, and constitute a treasure house which succeeding preachers have pillaged, often without any acknowledgment. L. de la Marche says, p. 276, that each sermon contains three or four *exempla* in succession. The more simple and common the audience the more prodigal he is of his stories. He says himself, in his preface: "The keen sword of subtle argumentation has no power over the laymen. To the knowledge of the Scriptures, without which one cannot take a step, must be added examples which are encouraging, amusing and yet edifying. Let us lay aside the pagan fables and poetry which do not afford any moral instruction; but let us open the door to the maxims of the philosophers which express useful ideas * * * * * The inexperienced who blame this mode of preaching do not suspect the profit it may produce; for our part we have tried it." He then continues relating how he excited the attention of his hearers: "Such an example," he says, "seems dull when read, which, on the contrary, will be very pleasing in the mouth of a skillful narrator." †

* See *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XVIII, 209 et seq., Græsse, *Lehrbuch einer allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte*, ii. Bd., iii. Abth., ii. Hälfte, p. 1058, and Gœdeke in *Orient und Occident*, i. 541.

† L. de La Marche, *op. cit.* pp. 276-277, who adds: "Les extraits, les reproductions diverses qui furent faites de ses œuvres presque immédiatement prouvent combien son idée eut de succès, à quel point elle s'adaptait aux besoins des populations." It was for a long time supposed that Jacques de Vitry was the author of a *Speculum Exemplorum* (see Gœdeke, *op. cit.* p. 542); this is not the case, his *exempla* are found in his inedited sermons. It is greatly to be wished that L. de la Marche who has so ably edited Etienne de Bourbon would do the same for Jacques de Vitry, whose importance for the diffusion of popular tales is greater than that of any writer we shall have occasion to mention in the present article. How much this writer was used by other preachers will appear when we consider later Etienne de Bourbon's obligations to him. Gœdeke in the article above cited mentions another case of wholesale borrowing, that of the monk Johannes Junior in his *Scala coeli*.

Jacques de Vitry was followed by Etienne de Bourbon, whose collections will be examined later in detail, and other writers of this period recommend the frequent use of *exempla*.* The abuses which arose from the excessive use of *exempla* were great, and the Council of Sens in 1528 forbade under the pain of interdict "those ridiculous recitals, those stories of good wives (*aniles fabulas*) having for their end laughter only."† These *exempla* at first were probably collected by each preacher for his own use, then the collected sermons of such celebrated *raconteurs* as Jacques de Vitry offered an inexhaustible magazine for several generations. Finally special collections of these *exempla* were made for the express purpose of aiding the preacher, and it is to these and similar collections that the remainder of this article will be devoted. The wealth of material can be indicated but incompletely in the limited space at our command, and we shall therefore select as illustrations a few typical works from the various classes into which the literature of the subject may be divided. In the first place stand the collections containing *exempla* alone, arranged either alphabetically or topically. We shall make use of one of each class, viz., the *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, and the *Speculum Exemplorum*, and refer briefly to later imitations in the modern languages of these collections. In the second place come treatises for the use of preachers, containing stories systematically arranged, but forming only a part of other homiletic material. Three of these works will demand our attention: Etienne de Bourbon, *De Septem Donis*; Peraldus, *Summa Virtutum et Vitiorum*; and Bromyard, *Summa Praedicatorum*. A third source of *exempla* is to

* L. de la Marche, p. 277, cites Humbertus de Romanis, *De Eruditione praedicatorum*. Bibl. Max. Pat. xxv, 433. We have examined all the similar treatises at our disposal, such as Alanus de Insulis, *Summa de arte praedicatoria*; Petrus Cantor, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, and Gilbert de Nogent *Liber quo ordine Sermo fieri debeat*, and only in the first named work have we found a brief reference to *exempla* which we have cited above.

† L. de la Marche, p. 278. The reader will recall Dante's passionate outbreak against the preaching of his day (Paradise, xxix, 103-120, Longfellow's translation):

Florence has not so many Lapi and Bindi
As fables such as these, that every year
Are shouted from the pulpit back and forth,
In such wise that the lambs who do not know,
Come back from pasture fed upon the wind,
And not to see the harm doth not excuse them.
Christ did not to His first disciples say,
"Go forth, and to the world preach idle tales."
But unto them a true foundation gave;
And this so loudly sounded from their lips,
That, in the warfare to enkindle faith,
They made of the Evangel shields and lances.
Now men go forth with jests and drolleries
To preach, and if but well the people laugh,
The hood puffs out, and nothing more is asked.
But in the cowl there nestles such a bird,
That, if the common people were to see it,
They would perceive what pardons they confide in.

be found in collections of sermons made for the benefit of idle or ignorant preachers. Two of these collections will be examined: the sermons of Herolt, already mentioned as the author of the *Promptuarium*, and those of Pelbartus of Themesvar; and finally a brief reference will be made to the class of expository works of which one of the most celebrated, Holkot, *Super Sapientiam*, may stand as an example.

The author of the *Promptuarium Exemplorum* was Johannes Herolt, a Dominican monk of Basel, who flourished during the first half of the XV century.* He whimsically called himself *Discipulus*, and his works are generally cited under that name. He himself explains it as follows at the end of the *sermones de tempore*: "Finiunt sermones collecti ex diversis sanctorum dietis et ex pluribus libris. Qui intitulantur sermones discipuli quod in istis sermonibus non subtilia per modum magistri, sed simplicia per modum discipuli conscripsi et collegi." Nothing is known of his life. Besides the works we have already mentioned he left a collection of *sermones super epistolas dominicales*, *Eruditorium Vitae*, a *Quadragesimale* and a work on the Albigensian war. The *Promptuarium* begins with the usual apologetic prologue from which an extract has been given above, then follow six hundred and thirty-four *exempla* with references to two hundred and eighty-three contained in the sermons. This large mass of stories is arranged alphabetically by topics, e. g. *Abstinentia*, *Accedia*, *Adulterium*, *Amicitia*, *Aequa benedicta*, *Baptismus*, etc., and reference is also facilitated by a copious index. Before examining the collection in detail, it may be well to consider briefly its

* Scanty notices of him will be found in Fabricius, *Bib. lat. med.* (Florence, 1858), *sub verb. Discipulus*, Græsse, *Lehrbuch einer Literaturgeschichte*, II, 2, 1, p. 169, Cruel, p. 480, and Val. Schmidt in his edition of the *Disciplina Clericalis*, Berlin, 1827, p. 99, note 3. The date of the composition of his sermons is given in *Sermo LXXXV* (in *Dominica secunda post octavas Trinitatis*): *a Christo autem transacti sunt mille quadrigenti decem et octo anni*, but in the VI of the *Sermones de Sanctis*, he mentions as heretics, Huss, Jerome, and Procopius, the latter of whom did not assume the leadership of the Hussites until 1424, and was not killed until 1434 in the battle of Bœmischbrod. This discrepancy can easily be explained on the supposition that Herolt inserted in his collection his earlier sermons, and either forgot to change the first date or purposely left it (Cruel, p. 480). The collection was probably published between 1435-40, and this will also be the date of the *Promptuarium*, as constant reference is made to it in the sermons and *vice versa*, and its object was undoubtedly to afford the preachers who used the sermons, a wider range of *exempla*. We do not know whether any edition of the *Promptuarium* appeared separate from the sermons, but imagine not. The enormous popularity of the work (including both in one) may be seen by a glance at Hain and Panzer. The former mentions twenty-nine editions with place and date, and seven without, before 1500; the latter, fifteen editions after the above date. The edition cited in this article is Argentine, 1495, M, Flach, fol. (Hain, No. 8505). It contains the sermons which will be mentioned later, the *Promptuarium*, and a collection of miracles of the Virgin, filling thirty-one pages. There is an old French translation of the *Promptuarium*, *Fleur des Commandements de Dieu*, Rouen, 1496, Paris, 1525, 1536, 1539, and a later arrangement by another Dominican, Aug.-Vind., 1728, 4to, *Discipulus Redivivus*, etc., collecta a Bonav. Elers, *Ord. Pr.*

sources, for, as can well be imagined, such a collection could only be a compilation, nor does the author, as we have seen, make any claim to originality.* Herolt himself mentions the following: Arnoldus (Geilhoven *de Rotodamensis*, author of *Gnotosolitus sive Speculum conscientiae*); Beda (*Gestis Anglorum*); Caesarius Heisterbacensis (*Dialogus Miraculorum*); Gregorius (Gregory I, *Dialogi*); Gregorius Turonensis; Gulielmus (Thomas Cantinpratenensis, *Liber de apibus*); Gulielmus Lugdinensis (Peraldus, whose *Summa virtutum et vitiorum* will be examined later); *Historiis Britonum* (Geoffrey of Monmouth); *Historia ecclesiastica*; Holgot (Robert Holkot whose *Liber super Sapientiam* will be examined later); Hugo de St. Victor; Isidorus; Jacobus de Vitriaco (Jacques de Vitry); *Liber de donis* (Etienne de Bourbon, to be mentioned hereafter); Petrus de St. Amore; Petrus Cluniacenses; Vincentius (of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*); Viridarius;† *Vitae Patrum* and Zosimas.‡ To this list may be added Jacobus de Voragine whose *Legenda aurea* is frequently used without acknowledgment, and some Oriental sources which will be mentioned later. The ecclesiastical character of Herolt's collection is evident at a glance. The compiler gathered his material largely from a few writers like Caesar of Heisterbach, and does not draw upon his own experience like Etienne de Bourbon. There are only two or three fables, and but few traces of the earlier Oriental collections. The *Disciplina clericalis* contributes four stories: M. 67 = ed. Schmidt, p. 106; S. 5 = Schmidt, p. 46; V. 12 = Schmidt, p. 51; *Sermones de tempore*, 120 = Schmidt, p. 36. There are other Oriental elements as we shall afterwards see, one may be mentioned here, the story in Barlaam and Josaphat, c. 29, which furnished Boccaccio with a well-known tale (Dec. iv, introduc.), is found in Herolt, L. 24. We shall relegate to the notes a few widespread stories in order to show the value of the work for the diffusion of popular tales, and proceed to characterize briefly the more original part of the work.§ Of original historical anecdotes there is scarcely

* Fabricius gives a very incomplete list of Herolt's sources, which is somewhat increased by Mansi in the Florentine edition of 1858.

† We are not acquainted with this work, but the *Speculum exemplorum* cites a work, *Viridarium sanctorum ex Menaeis Graecorum translatum*. We must confess and deplore our distance from a large library of reference, which prevents our settling some doubtful points in the present essay, the materials for which are drawn almost exclusively from our own private library. Our thanks are, however, due to the library of the Auburn (N. Y.) Theological Seminary which, with the utmost liberality, put at our disposal its copy of Migne's *Patrologia*.

‡ Of the above, Arnoldus, Caesarius, Gregory, Gulielmus (Cantinpratenensis), and the *Vitae Patrum* furnish about two hundred exempla or nearly one-third of the whole.

§ A. 13 B (Pauli, 260); A. 15 (*Gesta Rom.* 188); A. 18 (Pauli, 93); B. 9 (*Gesta Rom.* 45); C. 32 (*Gesta Rom.* 48); C. 39 (*Leg. aurea* 142); C. 40 (Pauli, 278); D. 3 (Pauli, 546); E. 5 (Pauli, 140); E. 6 (Wright's Latin Stories, 65); E. 12 (*Wendunmuth* 5, 127); F. 2 (Pauli, 391); F. 6 (Pauli, 683); F. 15, 16 (Pauli, 436); F. 17 (Pauli, 435); J. 16 (Pauli, 692); I. 33 (Pauli, 647); I. 38 (Pauli, 129); I. 39 (Pauli, 507); I. 40 (Pauli, 226); I. 41 (Pauli, 118); I. 42 (Pauli, 125); I. 43 (Pauli, 124). I. 44 (Pauli, 186); I. 49 (La Fontaine, Bk. I. 7); L. 3 (Pauli, 337); L. 21 (*Wendunmuth* I. 220); L. 35 (Pauli, 385);

an instance (A. 6; P. 123, 124). Comparatively little can be learned of the fashions of the day, a rubric so full and extensive in Etienne de Bourbon. In the eighty-third *Sermo de Temp.* (*De superbia vestium*), the long trails of the ladies of that time are bitterly censured, and a story told which is probably taken from Caesar of Heisterbach (Dial. V, 7, cp. Kaufmann's *Caesarius von Heisterbach*, 2te, Aufl. Cöln, 1862, pp. 40, 41, 114). The remainder of the stories, *i. e.*, those which may be regarded as original, so far at least as no source being cited—are the ordinary monkish tales, of which there must have been an enormous mass in circulation, and of which the best idea may be formed by a perusal of Caesar of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum* (ed. J. Strange, Cologne, 1851. 2 vols.) From this hasty survey we see that Herolt's work does not possess the interest and value we should expect. It gives, it is true, a very complete picture of the low intellectual level of preacher and congregation, and so far is important, but it fails to reproduce the society of the day as is so vividly done in Etienne de Bourbon, for instance. The most valuable part of Herolt's collection is what he borrowed from others, and to which he gave a wider circulation, and this constitutes his chief interest for the student of comparative storiology.

The *Promptuarium*, as we have seen, was an appendix to the author's collection of sermons and intended to be used in connection with them. It was not long before some one conceived the idea of making an independent collection of *exempla* which could be used with any of the numerous sermon-books. The most famous of such independent collections is the *Speculum Exemplorum*.* The author's name and country are unknown, but from internal evidence he seems to have been from the Low Countries or the adjacent German provinces. The popularity of his work led a Jesuit of Duaci, Johannes Major, to remake the book by casting it into an alphabetical form and by a very free handling of the contents. He terms his work *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum*,† and justifies this name in his preface by saying it surpasses all previous collections in the number of its *exempla*, which the compiler states to be thirteen hundred and seventy-five. The source of the story is always given at the end, and there is an attempt at a bibliography of similar collections. The growing scientific spirit of the day is very amusingly illustrated in the preface, where an apology is made for the apparently incredible character of some of the stories, which, however,

M. 3 (Pauli, 81, 90); M. 17 (*Wendunmuth* I, 366); M. 18 (Pauli, 135); M. 22 (*Libro de los Exemplos*, 23; *Romania*, No. 23, p. 497); M. 39 (*Gesta Rom.*, 273); M. 68 (*Gesta Rom.* 202); O. 12 (Pauli, 318); O. 13 (Pauli, 318); O. 14 (Pauli, 317); O. 23 (*Wendunmuth* 7, 17); P. 2 (Pauli, 471); P. 4 (Pauli, 471); S. 10 (Wright's Latin Stories, 84); T. 5 (Pauli, 281); T. 8 (*Wendunmuth* 2, 137, La Fontaine Bk. VIII, 2); T. 9 (*Wendunmuth* 2, 137); V. 14 (Pauli, 11); V. 41 (Pauli, 305); Y. 4 (Pauli, 665)?

*The first edition was printed at Davenport, in Holland, in 1481 (Hain, No. 14915), then followed editions of Cologne, 1485, Strasburg, 1487-90-95-97, and Hagenau, 1507-12-15-19.

† Duaci, 1605-7; Antwerp, 1607; Cologne, 1611-72. Our copy is Duaci, 1607. We have not been able to procure a copy of the original work.

if closely examined, will be seen to be possibly true, *e. g.*, the story of the obstinate woman thrown into the water, who could not speak but moved her fingers to represent a pair of scissors—here the collector naïvely adds: “Potuit enim daemon cuius rabiosa illa foemina praeda erat, ipsius articulos in eam formam composuisse.” The increasing secular character of these works is indicated by another passage in the preface: “Deinde si qua incredibilia, vel fabulosa, vel tantum ad ciendum risum efficta videntur, qualia paucissima sunt, solum in navigiis, vehiculis, mensis vel iucundis congressibus narranda servantur.” The scope of the work has been enlarged, it is no longer addressed exclusively to preachers, but to the “prudens concionator, cathecista vel narrator.” We think we can also notice a distinct advance in the character of the stories; more historical incidents are introduced, and the number of puerile monkish stories is much smaller. Our space will not allow us to examine in detail this vast compilation; many of the stories in the *Promptuarium* are to be found in it, and it must have served to spread many stories at a time when the taste for the older collections was rapidly diminishing.* This is perhaps the most appropriate place to describe several collections in the vulgar tongues, which, so far as their scope goes, are purely secular. We mention these works here rather than in connection with the *Gesta Romanorum*, because they seem to us more appropriately classed here by their form. They are alphabetical, or arranged topically for convenience of ref-

* A work similar to the *Speculum Exemplorum* is, A. Davroult, Soc. Jes., *Flores exemplorum, in quo Fides Catholica poene innumeris et exemplis sanctorum, et vivorum illustrium probatissimis confirmatur*. Coloniae, 1656, 1686, 4to. Other works of this class might be mentioned here, but we will merely call the attention of scholars to two collections of mediæval moralized tales described by the Vice-President of the Royal Irish Academy in a paper read before that body, April 10, 1882, and entitled, “On two Collections of Mediæval Moralized Tales,” by John K. Ingram, LL.D., F. T. C. D., Dublin, 1882. These collections are found in MSS. belonging to the Diocesan Library of Derry. The first is in two parts, one containing *exempla* arranged topically; the other is arranged in alphabetical order, “and the subjects are illustrated not by stories or anecdotes, but by sentences quoted apparently from various authors.” The second is entitled, *Speculum sive lumen laycorum*. The arrangement is alphabetically by topics. I cannot do better than quote Dr. Ingram’s account of the sources used by the compiler. “The materials of the work are borrowed from a great variety of authors. The classical writers of antiquity are but little quoted; there are references to Aristotle—some of whose works were known through Latin versions—to Cicero, Horace, Valerius Maximus, and Seneca. But the sources on which the compiler has drawn most largely, are the writings of St. Augustine, especially the *De Civitate Dei*, the *Historia Tripartita* of Cassiodorus, the Dialogues of St. Gregory, the collection known as *Vitæ Patrum*, the curious treatise entitled *Barlaam and Josaphat*, various Lives of Saints, the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsus, and the works of St. Isidore of Seville, of Bede, of Jacobus de Vitriaco, of Peter of Clugny (otherwise known as Peter the Venerable), and of Jacobus de Voragine, author of the *Legenda Aurea*. * * * Some of the narratives appear to have been taken, not from books, but from popular rumor or tradition, commencing as they do with *Fertur* simply. In the moralizations very large use is made of the Old and New Testament, with the text of which the compiler seems to have been thoroughly familiar.”

erence. They are, of course, all outgrowths of the same spirit, but the works now under consideration, we think, owe more to the distinctively ecclesiastical collections than to the *Gesta Romanorum*. In 1860, Don Pascual de Gayangos edited for Rivadeneyra's *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, a volume (No. 51) of *Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo XV*, pp. 447-542 of which contain *El Libro de los Enxemplos*, an alphabetical collection of three hundred and ninety-five stories. As the stories, however, begin with C (*Confessio devota debet esse et lacrymosa*) it is evident that the first part of the collection is wanting. This loss was repaired by A. Morel-Fatio who discovered the missing stories, seventy-one in number, and published them in the *Romania*, vii, pp. 481 *et seq.* The compiler was a certain Clemente Sanchez, Archdeacon of Valderos, in the diocese of Leon.* His chief sources are the *Disciplina Clericalis*, which he has incorporated almost entire in his work, *Vitae Patrum*, Dialogues of St. Gregory, and Valerius Maximus. The four furnish nearly one quarter of the whole number of stories. About twenty are taken from the *Gesta Romanorum*, or, at least, are found in that collection; many others are taken from the *Legenda Aurea*, and mediæval chroniclers. The number of stories referring to Greek and Roman history, or taken from classical sources is noteworthy. Each story is preceded by a Latin title which is translated in a Spanish distich which follows, and generally rhymes. The second of the alphabetical collections in a modern tongue is in the dialect of Catalonia, and was made prior to the XV century, or in the early years of the same.† The first volume, all published at present, contains three hundred and seventy stories, ranging from A to K. The stories are preceded by a Catalan title (not alphabetical) which usually mentions the source, then follow short Latin titles arranged alphabetically. The principal sources are: Jacques de Vitry, *Vitae Patrum*, Caesar of Heisterbach, Helinand, Valerius Maximus, Petrus Alfonsi, Etienne de Bourbon, *Legenda Aurea*, St. Gregory and Petrus Damianus. These alone furnish two hundred and forty-five stories, and afford a very clear idea of the general character of this collection. ‡

We have thus traced rapidly this curious branch of our subject. Originally merely an appendix to a collection of sermons, then forming an independent work by themselves, but still with the purpose of furnishing the preacher with entertaining matter for his homilies, these stories finally

* See *Romania*, *loc. cit.*, and Nic. Antonio, *Bib. hisp. vetus*, ii, 208.

† *Recull de Exmplis e Miracles, Gestes e Faules e altres ligendes ordenades per A-B-C, tretes de un manuscrit en pergami del segle XV, ara per primera volta estampades* (no place or date, in fact, Barcelona, 1881, A. Verdaguer).

‡ Some extracts from a collection of edifying stories found in a Portuguese MS. of the XIV century have recently been published by J. Cornu in the *Romania*, xi, pp. 381-390. The stories, twenty-four in number, are drawn from the Bible, St. Gregory, the *Vitae Patrum*, etc. No. 9 is the famous parable of the Friends in Need (Barlaam and Josaphat, cap. 13, see *Gesta Rom.* ed. Oesterley, cap. 288). The stories are not alphabetically arranged, and no hint is given of the extent of the original work.

became, in their more modern dress, a pastime by no means unprofitable, for besides introducing secular elements into entertaining literature, they contributed to prepare the ground for the Revival of Letters by diffusing some remnants of classical lore. The general question of the bearing of these collections upon the subject of the diffusion of popular tales will be considered at the conclusion of the present article.

We have now to direct our attention to the class of treatises for the use of preachers containing *exempla* systematically arranged, but forming only a part of other homiletic material. In many respects the most interesting and valuable work of this class is the *Tractatus de diversis materiis prædicabilibus, ordinatis et distinctis in septem partes, secundum septem dona Spiritus sancti et eorum affectus, currens per distinctiones materialium, per causas et effectus, refertus auctoritatibus et rationibus et exemplis diversis ad edificationem pertinentibus animarum*, by Stephanus de Borbone, usually cited as the *Liber de Donis* (in the *Recull de Eximplis as Libre de Dono Timoris* for a reason which will hereafter be apparent).* The author of this work was careful to conceal his name, and designates himself in the prologue simply as: "Ego, frater S., in ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum minimus." From a brief notice in the *Scriptores ordinis prædicatorum* (I, 184), it appears that the author was a certain Stephanus de Borbone (Etienne de Bourbon), born at Belleville-sur-Saône (department of the Rhône), a member of the Dominican order, who died about 1261 in a monastery of his order at

* Copious extracts from the above work have been published under the title, *Anecdotes historiques, Légendes et Apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon, dominicain du XIII^e siècle, publiés pour la Société de l'Histoire de France par A. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877*. The plan of the edition is thus stated by the editor in his introduction, p. xxv: "On ne trouvera pas non plus ici le texte intégral de tout le volumineux manuscrit d'Etienne de Bourbon; mais on y trouvera du moins un texte pur, et plus que des extraits. J'avais à faire un volume de documents historiques; j'ai donc pris tout ce qui pourrait intéresser l'histoire, c'est-à-dire la plus grande et la meilleure partie de l'ouvrage, et, pour ainsi dire, sa moelle. En un mot, j'ai laissé de côté les réflexions morales. les passages de l'Ecriture et le commentaire théologique, n'en gardant que ce qui était indispensable pour faire comprendre le plan et la pensée de l'auteur, pour rattacher ensemble sa longue série d'exemples, dont je ne pouvais songer à intervertir l'ordre. Quant à ces exemples eux-mêmes, j'ai dû en supprimer également un bon nombre, qui auraient grossi inutilement et démesurément ce volume. Voici la règle générale que j'ai suivie à cet égard: tout ce qu'Etienne a raconté *de visu* ou *de auditu*, c'est-à-dire ce qui s'est passé de son temps, et les faits antérieurs, authentiques ou légendaires, dont il a recueilli un récit oral, tout cela a été soigneusement conservé; les traits empruntés par lui à d'autres écrivains, ordinairement désignés, c'est-à-dire la partie de son recueil qui n'est pas véritablement originale, ont été sacrifiés. Je n'ai fait que de rares exceptions, commandées par des raisons spéciales. Ainsi, je n'ai pas cru devoir rejeter les citations de certains auteurs contemporains de nôtre, et dont les écrits sont peu ou point connus; les historiettes assez nombreuses tirées de la collection de Jacques de Vitry, par exemple, ne pouvaient qu'ajouter un attrait de plus à l'édition." The notes to the separate stories are not as full as might be desired, and some of the most interesting parallels have been overlooked; some additions to these notes will be given when we consider the contents of the work.

Lyons. Further details are furnished in his work itself (L. de La Marche, pp. iv. *et seq.*). He studied at the University of Paris, and relates some interesting stories of student life (c. 360). He probably entered the order of St. Dominick at Lyons, where he became well acquainted with the Waldensian heresy. Like most of his order, he became a missionary, and preached the crusade against the Albigenses, as L. de la Marche says, probably at the time of the expedition of Louis VIII, in 1226. He was made an inquisitor by the Pope, and gives many curious anecdotes about his way of dealing with heretics. His long life, for he must have been nearly seventy at his death, was spent in the discharge of the busy duties of his office, which took him on frequent missions, some of which have left their traces in his work. One of the objects of the book, like those already mentioned, was to furnish preachers with *exempla*. These he does not give separately, and in alphabetical order, but incidentally in the course of a treatise on the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (Isaiah xi. 2, 3): *Timor*, *Pietas*, *Scientia*, *Fortitudo*, *Consilium*, *Intellectus*, and *Sapientia*, whence the usual title *Liber de Septem Donis*.* Each of the seven parts is divided into *tituli*, these again into chapters. Unfortunately, the learned author was overtaken by death in the midst of his fifth division (*Consilium*). In the prologue he conscientiously cites his authorities, and an interesting list it is, giving an excellent idea of the state of learning at that day. The editor notices the comparatively few classic authors cited; on the other hand, Etienne de Bourbon was perfectly acquainted with the whole range of mediæval theology, and borrowed freely from the *exempla* contained in the sermons of Jacques de Vitry. The editor roughly divides the *exempla* in Etienne de Bourbon into two classes: First, those taken from previous writers, historical works, sacred or profane, theological compilations, lives of the saints, legends, poetry, fables, etc.; secondly, those borrowed from events contemporaneous with the author, from his own recollection or that of his friends, and from traditions communicated to him by word of mouth. We shall follow, in the main, these divisions and mention first those stories which have no historical value, but are of importance for comparative storiology, indicating by means of his initials those which are borrowed from Jacques de Vitry.

First, fables and apologues: No. 43,† the son who bit off the nose of his father who had trained him up so badly that he ended his life on the gallows (Pauli, No. 19); ‡ No. 225 (J. de V.), the traveler and the viper

* The MS. used by Lecoy de la Marche for his edition is that of the *Bibl. Nat.*, fonds lat. 15,970. The work is reproduced in a mutilated form in other MSS, mentioned by the editor, p. xxii. These contain generally mere *résumés* not extending further than the first division of the subject (*de dono Timoris*) hence the title applied to the work in the Catalan collection above mentioned.

† These numbers refer to the divisions introduced by the editor for convenience of reference, and which generally correspond each number to one *exempla*.

‡ In order to economize space, we refer where possible to the corresponding stories in Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, Stuttgart, Litt. Ver., Bd. 85, and Kirchhoff's *Wendunmuß*, same series, Bde. 95-99. These two works are edited by Hermann Oesterley, who has added the most exhaustive references to each story.

(Kirchhof 7, 73; Æsop ed. Furia CXXX; La Font. vi, 13); No. 271 (J. de V.), the milk-maid and the pot of milk (Kirchhof 1, 171; La Font. vii, 10; Max Müller, Chips, iv, 170; Joly, *Deux Fables*, etc., p. 91); No. 291, the mule boasting of his descent, "the horse is my grandfather" (cp. La Font. vi. 7; *Disciplina clericalis*, ed. Schmidt, p. 41; Pauli, No. 170; (Kirchhof 4, 138); No. 297 (J. de V.), the bat pretending to be a bird (La Font. ii, 5; Æsop ed. Furia, CXXV); No. 375, True and Untrue, the apes tear to pieces the one who tells them the truth (Pauli, No. 381; Phædrus, app. 24; Robert, *Fables inéd.* ii, 547); No. 376, lion, wolf, and fox dividing prey; wolf takes better part, and lion tears off the skin of his head, the fox when asked who taught him to make a better division, replied, "He to whom you gave a red cowl" (Kirchhof 7, 24); No. 409 (J. de V.), the cobbler and the rich man (Kirchhof 2, 137; La Font. viii, 2); No. 451 (J. de V.), the old man and his two mistresses, one pulls out his white hairs, the other, his black ones (Kirchhof 6, 67; Æsop ed. Furia, CXCIX).

The following list embraces all the legends and stories of general interest: No. 37, legend of the Knight in the Chapel (Köhler, *Jahrb. für rom. und eng. lit.*, vi, 326); No. 46, archdeacon who killed the bishop (*Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, 1876, i, 101; cp. D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, Florence, 1872, ii, 445); No. 81, the prince who bought for much money the advice: *In omnibus factis tuis considera antequam facias, ad quem finem inde venire valeas*; which maxim written on all the royal linen, etc., saves the king's life by terrifying the barber who had been bribed to kill him (cp. *Gesta Rom.* c. 103, for a more complete version, which is also found in several Italian popular tales: Gonzenbach, *Sicilienische Märchen*, 81; Gradi, *Pasqua di Ceppo*, p. 83); No. 130, a version of the Crescentia legend (D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresentaz.* iii, 199); No. 143, the *fabliau De Brunain la vache au prestre* (Méon iii, 25; Luzel, *Légendes chrétiennes de la Basse-Bretagne* I, 30); No. 160, legitimate son recognized by refusing to shoot an arrow at the body of his dead father (*Gesta Rom.* 45; Wright's Latin Stories, No. 21); No. 161, a version of Bernier's *fabliau* of *La Housse partie* (Méon iv, 472; Von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer* ii, p. lv, No. 48; Pauli, 436); No. 168, the legend of Robert the Devil (Græsse, *Literärsgeschichte* ii, 2, 2, p. 628; Douhet, *Dictionnaire des Mystères, ad verb.*); No. 173, a version of the Alexis legend (*Gesta Rom.* 15); Nos. 176-178, the legend of Theophilus (D'Ancona. *op. cit.* ii, 445; Græsse, *op. cit.* ii, 2, 2, p. 625); Nos. 242-244 (J. de V.), examples of woman's obstinacy (Pauli 595; La Font. iii, 16; Dunlop's *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen uebertragen* von F. Liebrecht, Berlin, 1851, pp. 207, 274); No. 245, a long story of an old woman who makes mischief between husband and wife (Kirchhof 1, 366; Wright's Latin Stories, 100; *Promptuarium Exemp.*, M. 17); No. 246, dish of tongues good and bad (*Vita Æsopi*, Bromyard, *Summa prædicatorum* L, 5, 5, Kirchhof 3, 129; a similar story is found in the Talmud, see Levi, *Parabole*, etc., Florence, 1861, p. 398, *La Lingua*); No. 248 (J. de V.), story of nun who tears out her eyes and sends them to

king who had fallen in love with her beauty (this story is taken from the *Vitae Patrum*, ed. Lugd. 1616, *lib. x, cap. 60*); No. 298 (J de V.), curiosity detected by putting a bird in a covered dish (Pauli, 398); No. 331, the famous apologue of the three rings employed by Lessing in his *Nathan der Weise* (*Gesta Rom.* 89); No. 338, Jew converted by seeing the Christian religion withstand the evil examples of its professors (Boccaccio, Dec. i, 1, see M. Landau, *Die Quellen des Decamerone*, Wien, 1869, pp. 65, 148); No. 339 (J. de V.), man carrying lamb to market is made to believe it a dog by three sharpers (for this famous Oriental story see Oesterley's references to *Gesta Rom.* 132, Pauli, 632); No. 370, the legend of the faithful hound (D'Ancona, *Il Libro dei Sette Savi di Roma*, Pisa, 1864, p. 103, a Chinese Buddhist version is given by S. Beal in the *Academy*, Nov. 4, 1882 (No. 548), p. 331, "Bedd Gelert;" we shall revert to this story later); No. 373, Schiller's *Der Gang nach dem Eisenhammer* (*Gesta Rom.* 283); No. 396, Parnell's Hermit (*Gesta Rom.* No. 80, this legend has also become a popular tale: Gonzenbach, *op. cit.* No. 92; De Trueba, *Narraciones populares*, p. 65; Luzel, *op. cit.* i, 282, ii, 4); No. 414, treasure in trunk of tree (*Gesta Rom.* No. 109); No. 433 (J. de V.), story of inn-keeper who used to tip over his customers' wine, saying: "*Hoc significat, abundantiam que veniet vobis, et bonam fortunam.*" A certain pilgrim to whom this had been done, privately opened the spigot of a cask, and repeated the above words to the angry host (Pauli, 372; *Novellette di San Bernardino*, No. 29); No. 436 (J. de V.), a woman wishing to obtain access to a bishop in order to demand justice is told she must grease his hands (in the French sense *se faire graissir la main*), and follows the injunction literally (Pauli, 124); No. 460 (J. de V.), the famous story technically known as the Matron of Ephesus (D'Ancona, *Il libro dei sette savj di Roma*, p. 118, *Studi di Critica*, Bologna, 1880, p. 322; Griesebach, *Die treulose Wittwe*, Vienna, 1873); No. 494, the legend of the wood of the Cross (see A. Mussafia, *Sulla legenda del legno della Croce*, Vienna, 1869; W. Meyer, *Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus*, München, 1881); No. 502 (J. de V.), the stratagem employed by Sancho Panza while governor (Don Quixote, ii, 45) to discover whether a young man had done violence to a certain woman (Wright's Latin stories, No. 20); No. 507, a tradition of Homer who was forbidden to enter the king's palace while he wore a mean garb, but clothed in a rich dress was honorably received and obtained what he asked; instead of thanking the king for the favor, he thanked his clothes (the story is told of Dante, Papanti, *Dante secondo la tradizione e i novellatori*, Livorno, 1873, p. 72. This story, too, has become a popular tale, and is related of the typical Sicilian booby, Giufà, see Gonzenbach, *op. cit.* i, 258).

Turning now to the class of popular superstitions, we shall find much that is interesting as illustrating the condition of society at that day. The belief in the divination of the cuckoo seems to have been widespread. A story is told of an old woman (No. 52), who heard on the first of May a cuckoo singing five times, and believed she would live at least that num-

ber of years more. On her dying bed she refused to confess, saying it was unnecessary as she should live five years, and when she grew too weak to speak she uttered the sound of the cuckoo five times, and finally held up her five fingers and died (Pauli, 289). In regard to unfavorable omens, Etienne de Bourbon cites a story from Jacques de Vitry about a king of Castile, who, while advancing against the Saracens, met a flock of crows. Some of the soldiers urged the king to return, but he very sensibly said that the crows were not older than four years, whereas he had fought more than twenty against the Saracens, and knew more about the way to fight them than the crows did. He advanced and beat his enemies (No. 353). In another story (No. 355), from the same source, an innkeeper detained a countryman in his tavern by making a noise with a bladder which the latter said was a bad omen. Fortune-tellers flourished then as now—one had a house divided into several parts, in one of which he received those coming to consult him, but overheard from an adjoining part what they said among themselves. The inquirers were then led by a round-about way to that very part where the diviner addressed them by name, and answered their questions (No. 357). Another fortune-teller, an old woman, sent her son to steal the cattle of a rich peasant who lived at some distance, and tie them to a tree in the forest. The owner was then told by the son that in a certain town there was a good fortune-teller, who could inform him where his cattle were. This the old woman did, and earned great fame thereby (No. 358). The most interesting story of this kind, however, is one describing an event of which Etienne himself was an eye-witness (No. 360). We give it in his own words: "When I was a student in Paris, on Christmas Eve, while our companions were at Vespers, a certain notorious thief entered our lodging, and opening the room of one of our comrades, carried away several volumes of law books. When the owner wanted to use them after the holiday, he found they were gone, and hastened to the fortune-tellers (*malificos*). After many had deceived him, one conjured up some evil spirits and made the student look into a mirror, in which he saw, among other things, that a certain comrade of ours, a relative of his, and whom we believed the most honest of our number, had stolen his books. The owner accused him of the theft not only among the students, but also among his friends. When, however, the aforesaid thief had stolen some other things, and had been detected, he took refuge in the belfry of a church, and told every one who asked him, what he had stolen, and where it was. After some students who lived near us had discovered in this way a wallet (*mantica*), which had been stolen, the one who had lost his law books reluctantly consented to go to the thief, and inquire about them. The thief told him when and where he had stolen them, and designated the dwelling of the Jew to whom he had pawned them, and where the owner found them." Even the clairvoyants of the present day have their counterparts in the old women who had the dresses or girdles of the sick brought them, in order to divine the diseases of the owners (No. 363). Those were also the days of witchcraft (No. 364, 366, 367),

and the Wild Huntsman whose band was known as *familia Allequini vulgariter vel Arturi* (No. 365).^{*} Many anecdotes of this kind came to the knowledge of Etienne while searching for heresy in the south of France. It is to his credit that he did not put much confidence in these absurd stories, although fortunately he deemed them worthy of preservation. We have already mentioned the story of the faithful hound, Bedd Gellert, which is of Oriental origin, and is found, for instance, in the Seven Wise Masters. After giving a version of this story, which has become in several places a local legend, Etienne proceeds to say that the dog was considered a martyr, and its grave was visited by the sick just like the shrines of wonder-working saints. Sick children especially were brought to the place, and made to pass nine times through an aperture formed in the trunks of two trees growing over the hound's grave, while various Pagan rites were performed, and the child was finally left naked at the foot of the tree until two candles an inch long were consumed. Etienne, by virtue of his office as inquisitor, had the dog exhumed, its bones burnt, and the grove cut down (No. 370). In this connection we may mention the dances which incur the writer's ire. He says the devil is the inventor, guide and advocate of the dancers (No. 461), and adds that there once appeared to a certain holy man the devil in the shape of a little Ethiopian standing over the woman leading the dance, and guiding her about as he wished, and leaping over her head (*ibid*). Etienne derives the origin of dancing from the worship of Apis (*ibid*), and narrates several examples in which dancers were punished by the floor breaking through under them, and the church in which they were performing this incongruous act being struck by lightning (Nos. 462-63). These dances in the church, or rather, before it, and in the neighboring cemetery are frequently mentioned by our author. In Roussillon the feast of the patron saint was celebrated by the young people making and mounting a wooden horse, and dancing in the church and cemetery (No. 194). Sometimes the officiating priest was disturbed by these dances, and came out and broke them up very unceremoniously, as, for instance, a certain Master Stephanus de Cudo (Cudot), who, when he could not otherwise stop the throng, seized the *peplum* of the leader, a *majorissa* of the town, and pulled it off together with all her hair and the ornaments of her head (No. 275), a not unlikely proceeding as we shall see in a moment. Luxury in dress has always been a favorite subject of denunciation from the pulpit, and some of Etienne's stories prove that there is a greater permanence in fashion than we usually imagine. Blond hair seems to have been as popular in the XIII as in the XIX century, and the length of ladies' trains seemed then an invention of the devil. We have just seen how a priest put an end to a dance by pulling off the leader's mantilla, and with it her false

^{*} A counterpart to this myth is that of the *bonnes choses*, or *bonesozes* (see L de la Marche's note to No. 97), women who supposed that they accompanied at night Diana or Herodias mounted on certain beasts and traversed wide spaces of the earth and air.

hair—an incident that occurs more than once in Etienne's pages. One Palm Sunday, while the procession was passing the window of a wealthy clerk, a pet monkey descended by its chain, and snatched off the wig of an old woman, and then climbed back displaying his trophy in great glee, Etienne happening to be in the procession when this occurred (No. 274).^{*} Painting the face was likewise common and liable also to shameful detection, as where a mountebank filled his mouth with water and blew it into the painted face of a woman with a result that can easily be imagined (No. 279). A more delicate trick was that of a magnate who made a hole in a cushion, and blew the feathers in the face of a lady sitting near him; when she discovered the feathers sticking to her face she tried to rub them off, but only made matters worse, until at last she looked like an image that had undergone repairs, "*ad modum imaginis reparate*" (No. 280). The pointed shoes of this period, as well as the women's long trains, were favorite resorts of the devil. A woman who had been dancing for some time could not move her feet for several days, at last they cut off the points of her shoes, and out came the devil with a noise, and the woman recovered (No. 281). Etienne repeats (No. 282) a story of J. de Vitry's, who says a certain holy man once saw the devil laughing, and asked him the reason. He was told that one of the devil's companions was accustomed to ride about on a lady's train, and when she lifted her dress at a muddy spot the devil fell off into the mire.[†] The costliness and weight of women's girdles or belts also called for reproof. They were made of iron, silk, silver or gold, and adorned with precious stones; some were ornamented with the figures of lions and dragons, and birds wrought in gold and silver, the workmanship of which was more costly than the material. They were so heavy that the wearers would refuse to carry in penance about their waists an equal weight in lead or iron.[‡]

Our space will not permit us to examine at equal length the class of historical anecdotes or those related by Etienne as an eye-witness. A very complete and vivid picture of society might be drawn from this work: the schools, the streets of Paris, the open-air preaching, the crusade against the Albigenses, Saint Louis and his crusade, in short, the civil, ecclesiastical, and military life of the day are unrolled before us, while the theologian or church historian will find valuable materials in Etienne's detailed account of the heresies of that time (pp. 290-314).

^{*} Bourgain, *La Chaire française*, p. 12, n. 4, cites the following passage from Hugues de Saint-Victor, which will illustrate the above *exemplum*: "(Simiam) que licet villissimum et turpissimum et horrendum sit animal, tamen heu! maxime clerici in suis domibus hanc habere et in suis fenestris ponere solent, ut, apud stultos qui pertranseunt, per ejus aspectum gloriam suarum divitiarum jactitent."

[†] Cæsar of Helsterbach, *Dial. Mirac.* v. 7, says that an honest citizen of Mainz saw a multitude of devils on the train of a lady of that city. "They were small as mice, black as Ethiopians, laughing and clapping their hands and jumping about like fish in a net."

[‡] For further details of this kind see L. de la Marche, *La Chaire française*, pp. 404, 412.

The second work of the class of treatises which we shall notice is the *Summa Virtutum ac Vitiorum* of Gulielmus Peraldus, also a Dominican and bishop of Lyons.* He died in 1275, leaving besides the above work a large number of sermons. The *Summa*, which is quoted by both Herolt and Etienne de Bourbon, is, as its name indicates, a treatise on the principal virtues and vices, forty of the former and forty-one of the latter being considered in detail. For convenience of reference the work is supplied with very full indices and analytical tables of contents. The *exempla* no longer have the importance attributed to them in the works we have already cited, and when they are used for purposes of illustration, they are given in a dry, brief way. For example, under the head of *Invidia* (Vol. ii, p. 281), Peraldus cites a well-known story as follows: "Exemplum de quodam rege, qui concessit cuidam avaro et cuidam invido munus quod eligerent, ita tamen quod munus ejus qui posterior peteret, duplicaretur: et cum uterque differet, præcepit rex invido ut prius peteret: qui petit ut erueretur sibi unus oculus, volens quod proximo eruerentur ambo." † Although Peraldus's work possesses but little of the interest of the work last discussed, it is still valuable. The writer was a learned man, and cites not merely the Christian authors popular during the middle ages, but quotes constantly from the classics. From his pages may also be gleaned many details of mediæval society.‡

The most extensive and in many respects the most valuable of all the works of the class we are now examining is the *Summa Prædicatorum* of John Bromyard, an English Dominican.§ He was from Herford, and became a celebrated theologian and jurist at Oxford. He was afterwards professor of theology at Cambridge, and is said to have been one of Wicliff's opponents in the Council of London, 1382. He died in 1418,

*The first edition is Cologne, 1479. It has been frequently reprinted since; our copy is Cologne, 1629, two volumes, 4to.

† As this story, which is of Oriental origin (see Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, i, 498, 304), is found in three of the collections we are examining, we have an opportunity to compare its treatment by the various compilers. Herolt, *Prompt. Ex.* i, 33, is almost as concise; Bromyard, i, 6, 19, is a little more diffuse; Holkot, *Super Sapientiam, lect. XXIX*, gives the story as follows: "Narratur de quodam cupido et invido insimul iter agentibus quod vox de celo venit ad eos dicens: Petat unus quidquid voluerit et habuerit, sic tamen quod socius ejus habebit duplum. Fit contraversia quis eorum prius peteret. Tandem invidus: Peto, inquit, ut eruat mihi alter oculus." This story was always a very popular one, as may be seen by a glance at the long list of parallels cited by Oosterley to Pauli, 447. Another story in Peraldus ii, 307, "true son refusing to shoot arrow at father's dead body," may likewise be compared with Etienne de Bourbon, No. 160 (mentioned above), Bromyard, F. 5, 17, *Prompt. Ex.*, B. 9, and *Libro de Enxemplos*, 103 (see also *Gesta Rom.* ed. Oosterly, cap. 45).

‡ Peraldus, too, reproves trains and long shoes, ii, 211, 212, 215.

§ This work, although popular, has not passed through as many editions as some of the above mentioned work. The following are all the editions we can discover: *editio princ.* s. l. e. a. fol.; Norinberg., 1485, 4to. (Fabricius, fol.); *ibid.*, 1518, 4to.; Parisiis, 1518, 4to.; Lugd., 15, 22, 4to; Venet., 1586. fol. (Fabr. 4to); Antverp., 1614, fol. Our copy is the last named.

leaving, besides his *Summa* and some writings against Wicliff, a work entitled: *Opus trivium sive tractatus juris civilis et canonici ad moralem sensum applicati secundum ordinem alphabeti*.^{*} Some idea of the extent of the *Summa* may be gained from the fact that the edition of 1614 consists of two parts containing nine hundred and seventy-one folio pages, exclusive of the indices. The arrangement is the usual one of topics alphabetically disposed: nineteen letters (or twenty-one, distinguishing i and u) embracing one hundred and eighty-nine topics treated in as many chapters. The range of subjects may be shown by the titles under some of the letters taken at random. We give all the divisions of the letters chosen, naturally, however, selecting those which contain fewest chapters: *Beatudo, bellum, benefacere, bonitas; gaudium, gloria, gratia, gratitudo, gula; labor, laus, lex, liber, loquatio, ludus, luxuria; nativitas, negligentia, nobilitas, nocumentum; tentatio, testimonium, timor, trinitas, tribulatio*, etc. Each chapter is preceded by a *summarium* of the sections into which it is divided, and these sections are still further divided into paragraphs or articles. The *exempla* are usually, but not always, indicated by the word *exemplum* or its abbreviation in the margin. The stories themselves are, as in Peraldus, generally given in brief and dry versions. These illustrative *exempla*, which, for us, constitute the chief value of the work, are very numerous. Goedeke (*Orient und Occident*, i, 538) says their number is over a thousand, and remarks: "Kaum irgend ein anderes Werk des Mittelalters ist so reich an Fabeln und Geschichten als das seinige (the *Summa*), und kaum ein anderes von dieser Bedeutung so wenig bekannt. Wright (*Latin Stories*, Percy Soc., Vol. viii, p. viii) says: "Perhaps no work is more worthy the attention of those who are interested in the popular literature and history of England in the fourteenth century."[†] Bromyard seldom names his sources, but as Goedeke (*op. cit.*, p. 538) says: "Ueberall darf Entlehnung vorausgesetzt werden." These sources are the whole body of mediæval and classical literature then known to the learned. Scarcely any department of these two great divisions is unrepresented: fables, legends, mediæval epics, Oriental apologues, anecdotes from Roman history, from Biblical history, popular jests, etc., are mingled with a mass of references to contemporary manners and customs which render the work invaluable to the student of mediæval culture. It is impossible in our limited space to give even a brief selection from Bromyard's stories. Those cited by Wright will give those who do not have access to the original a fair idea of its contents, and a glance through Oesterley's references to Pauli, Kirchhof, and the *Gesta Romanorum*, will show that Bromyard has absorbed into his vast encyclopedia most of the popular stories of his day.[‡]

Before leaving the class of treatises, there is one work which may be

^{*} Fabricius, *ed. cit.*, i, p. 263; Græsse, ii, 2, 1, pp. 166, 380.

[†] Of the one hundred and forty-nine stories given by Wright, over fifty are taken from Bromyard, and eleven from the *Promptuarium Exemplorum*.

[‡] About one hundred and fifty of Bromyard's stories are found in these collections.

mentioned here, although, strictly speaking, it is not a treatise in the same sense as the works already described. We refer to Robert Holcot's *Opus super Sapientiam Solomonis*.^{*} The author was, like Bromyard, an English Dominican, born at Northampton, and professor of theology at Oxford, where he died in 1349, leaving a large number of commentaries on various books of the Bible, the best known being, the one on the Wisdom of Solomon.† This work consists of two hundred and twelve *lectiones* on the nineteen chapters of the wisdom with the usual extensive index. *Exempla* properly so-called are very sparingly used by the author, one of them (Pauli, 647), has already been given above, and one of La Fontaine's most celebrated fables (Bk. vi, 4, "Jupiter et le Métayer") is found in *Lectio IX*. On the other hand, the work is a vast repertory of historical anecdotes embedded in the most elaborate metaphors. A good example of Holcot's method may be found in the *Lectio LXIV*, where he discusses Chap. V, v. 9-10 of his text, "All those things are passed away like a shadow, and as a post that hasteth by; And as a ship that passeth over the waves of the water, which, when it is gone by, the trace thereof cannot be found, neither the pathway of the keel in the waves." As there are three kinds of sin: original, venial, and mortal, so there are three kinds of shadows corresponding in shape to the cylinder, cone, and inverted cone (*chilindroydes, conoydes, and calathoydes*). In speaking of the simile of the ship, Holcot quotes from St. Jerome's *epistolae*, cxv, the story of Xerxes weeping because none of those he beheld at a review of his army would be alive in a hundred years. He then compares penitence to a ship on account of its figure, capacity for carrying, and possibility of wreck. This affords Holcot an opportunity, after citing Job, Boethius, and Gregory, to describe the Sirens and Ulysses's adventure with them. His sources are, as he states: *Alexander in scintillario poesis*,‡ and Boethius, *de Consolat*, iii. 3. In his third lecture he

^{*} See Hain, Nos. 8755-61. The first edition is of Cologne, no date, our copy is the third edition (Hain, No. 8757); Spires, 1483, Petrus Drach. For other editions, see Grässe, *op. cit.* ii, 2, 1, p. 470.

† Holcot left another work which would also come within the scope of this article, but which we have not been able to procure. It is the *Moralitates pulchrae historiarum in usum praedicatorum*, Venet. 1505; Paris, 1510, and with the *Liber Sap.*, 1580. This work varies somewhat in the different editions, but the original form seems to have consisted of forty-seven stories, afterwards amplified to seventy-five. This collection is of great importance for the question of the mode in which the *Gesta Romanorum* was put together, and Oesterley in his edition of that work, after an analysis of the *Moralitates*, says, p. 251: "Die Wichtigkeit dieses Werkes braucht nicht besonders hervorgehoben zu werden, es ist in ihm nicht allein die Quelle vieler Nummern des *Gesta Romanorum* nachgewiesen, die bisher unbekannt geblieben war, sondern dasselbe hat auf die Gestaltung unserer Sammlung einen so entscheidenden Einfluss ausgeübt, dass man die sämtlichen Handschriften in zwei Classen theilen könnte, deren eine von Holcot beeinflusst ist, deren andere aber einen solchen Einfluss nicht zeigt, und es ist das ein nicht unwichtiges Moment für die Entscheidung der Frage über das Alter der *Gesta Romanorum*."

‡ This is Alexander Neckam, see Leyser, *Hist. Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aevi*, Halle, 1721, p. 993.

mentions Alexander and the pirate (*Gesta Rom.* 146); in the ninth occurs the fable of La Fontaine vi, 4, mentioned above; in the fourteenth, the story of Atalanta (*Gesta Rom.* 60), cited from Ovid; in the forty-fifth, the story of the two snakes (*Gesta Rom.* 92), cited from Valerius Maximus (4. 6, 1); in the seventieth, Damocles's sword cited from Macrobius, *Somn. Scip.* 1, 10 (*Gesta Rom.* 143); in the eighty-second, the poisoned wine from Frontinus, *Strateg.* 2. 5, 12 (*Gesta Rom.* 88); in the eighty-sixth "judge flayed," from Helinand, lib. xv. (*Gesta Rom.* 29); in the one hundred and thirteenth, "the ring of forgetfulness and memory," from "*magister in historiis super Exodus*," the story is told of Moses (*Gesta Rom.* 10, of the Emperor Vespasian); in the hundred and forty-first, the story of Phalaris and his brazen bull from Ovid (*Gesta Rom.* 48); in the one hundred and seventy-fifth, Coriolanus, Valerius Maximus 5, 4, 1 (*Gesta Rom.* 137); in the one hundred and eighty-eighth, La Fontaine, vii, 1, *Les Animaux malades de la peste*; in the hundred and ninetieth, the legend of Silvester II (Gerbert), v, Milman Latin Christ, iii, p. 220; *ibid.*, wax image of husband shot at by wife's lover (*Gesta Rom.* 102). We have mentioned only a few of the stories most popular during the middle ages, and our citations can give but a feeble idea of the mass of historical and mythological references to be found in Holkot.

It remains finally to notice very briefly the class of sermons from which we have selected two of the most popular collections as examples.* The first is the sermons of Herolt who has already been considered as the author of the *Promptuarium Exemplorum*. The popularity of his collection was shown by the large number of editions through which it passed, and all we have now to do is to examine the form and contents of the work itself.† The sermons, as is usual, are divided into those for the ordinary Sundays of the year, *de tempore*, and those for saints' days, *de sanctis*; of the former there are one hundred and sixty-four, of the latter forty-eight. From one to five sermons are devoted to a single Sunday or saint, and reference is sometimes made to other sermons in the same collection which may likewise be used. Where several sermons are given for one occasion, they are considered as one, and the method of division is continuous. This consists in a rude paragraphing by means of capital letters. Not only is reference facilitated by an alphabetical index, but an additional index is given of the *exempla* in the *sermones de tempore* and a briefer index of the *sermones de sanctis*. As to the organic division of the sermons, the

* For the vast mass of inedited material, see L. de la Marche, *La Chaire française*, etc., *table bibliographique*, pp. 457-499; for printed sermons, Grasse, *op. cit.* ii, 2, 1, pp. 152-175; for collections of sermons designed especially for the use of preachers, Cruel, *op. cit.* pp. 468-493; for general *résumé* (XIV century), *Hist. litt. de la France*, xxiv, pp. 363-382.

† Cruel, p. 480, says: "The most used work of this class (the sermons for the use of preachers) are the *Sermones Discipuli*, which passed through thirty-six editions before 1500. How well known this work was is shown from a passage in Geller's Postils to the eighth Sunday after Trinity, where the author after the division of his subject into heads, says: Now mark! you will find these things neither in Jacobo de Voragine nor in Discipulo."

author in the prologue to the *serm. de sanctis*, says: "Dividendo eundem sermonem in tres partes. Pria pars erit de dignitate et privilegiis istius sancti vel istorum sanctorum et sanctarum. Secunda pars principalis erit pro informatione hominum simplicium et specialiter ad emendationem suae vitae. Tercia pars erit de miraculis istius sancti aut illorum sanctorum vel sanctarum." The division of the *sermo de tempore* is also usually threefold, the *exemplum* coming last. The following brief analysis of one of Herolt's sermons may not be unacceptable. *Sermo xvi, De innocentibus*. "Mittens Herodes occidit omnes pueros qui erant in Bethleem et in omnibus finibus ejus, Matt. ii. Ex quo hodie peragitur festum illorum puerorum innocentium qui ab iniquo Herode interfecti sint, tunc in presenti sermone tria sunt dicenda. Primo quod aliqui parentes suos pueros spiritualiter occidunt sicut Herodes corporaliter occidet. Secundo de solemnitate presentis festi. Tercio exemplum." "There are six classes of parents who kill their children: those who kill the child yet unborn, those who love their children too much ("Qui amat filium vel filiam super me non est me dignus," Matt. x), those who teach them evil, as dancing, wearing their rich clothes, painting their faces and curling their hair, those who do not punish their children when they err, those who set their children a bad example, and thus kill them spiritually, and finally those who amass wealth unjustly in order to enrich their offspring. Secondly, the feast of the Innocents is to be observed solemnly for three reasons: first, on account of the time, they were the first martyrs, secondly, on account of their number, thirdly, on account of the place. Thirdly, mark an example of those who do not correct their children when they err. We read of a certain father who was accustomed to visit taverns and games, and take his little son with him. When the son grew up he was so used to taverns and games that he could not be kept away from them, and after he had spent his own money, he began to steal, first from his father, then from his neighbors. His father did not punish him severely, but gently reproved him. This admonition, however, had no effect, and when he grew to be a man, he was caught once and again in theft, but twice was saved from the gallows by a fine. The third time he was detected he was sentenced to death, and led to the gibbet. There he begged that his father might be brought to him. He came weeping, and the son asked him to kiss him, and forgive him the wrong he had done him. When the father did as he was asked, his son bit off his nose. The son was censured because twice his father had saved him from death by paying a fine, and would gladly have freed him a third time had he been able. The son, however, answered: 'I have acted well and justly because he is the cause of my death, for from my youth up he permitted me to live according to my own will, neither corrected me at any time for the excesses I committed.' "* At the end of the lxxxiv, sermon *de tempore* (*De gaudiis coeli*) occurs the following beautiful and well-known *exemplum* which Mr. Longfellow's readers will recognize as the story of Monk Felix in the Golden Legend.

*For parallels see Pauli, 19. This story occurs in Etienne de Bourbon, and has been already mentioned.

"Likewise we read this example of the joys of Heaven. A certain devout monk prayed God to reveal to him some of the sweetness of the heavenly joys. One day while at prayer he heard a little bird singing sweetly near by. Arising from his prayers he wished to catch the bird which flew away before him to a wood near the monastery, and alighted on a tree. The monk followed it and stood under the tree listening to the bird which presently flew away, and the monk returned to the monastery thinking he had stood beneath the tree an hour or two. When he reached the monastery he found the door had been built up, and another opened in a different part of the monastery. He approached and knocked, and the porter asked whence he came, who he was, and what he wanted. He replied : I left the monastery a little while ago, and now I have returned, and it has been changed. The porter went in and told the abbot, who came to the door and asked the monk who he was and whence he came. He responded : I am a brother of this monastery, and I went a short time ago to the wood, and returned, and I know no one, and no one knows me. Then the abbot and the seniors asked him the name of the abbot who ruled the monastery when he went out, and searching the chronicles they found he had been absent from the monastery three hundred and forty years. It was a great thing that in all that time on account of the sweet song of that bird or angel, he had felt neither cold nor heat, neither had hungered nor thirsted. What then shall it be when we enter heaven and hear the nine choirs of angels singing?" * In concluding this very inadequate account of Herolt's collection, we cannot do better than cite a few words from Cruel's appreciation (p. 481) : "The work was very copious, and exerted from the large number of its *exempla*, a peculiar attraction. What, however, above all, made it popular and distinguished it from earlier collections was the practical direction of its contents, whereby the author held himself free from all doctrinary generalities, and kept in sight the concrete truth in order to bring before the bar the prevailing faults and vices of his day, and to examine from an ecclesiastical standpoint the most various relations of civil life. The editors of the earliest edition (1476) had this especially in view, when they remarked in their concluding words : 'Huic (autori) applaudi, hunc efferri laudibus, hunc praedicatum iri miretur nemo, cum certissime constet, inter modernos sermonistas eum in vulgi scientia tenere principatum.' In order to become acquainted with this practical popular side one needs only to glance over a list of the subjects he treated. Superiors and dependents, masters and servants, manufac-

* See Von der Hagen's *Gesammtabent*, xc: *Magnum Spec. Exemp., Coelestis gloria, Exemp. xiv*; cp. Ralston's *Russian Folk Tales*, p. 310; Cox, *Aryan. Myth.* 1, 413; Baring Gould's *Curious Myths*, 1872, pp. 92, 112. The following are some of the most popular *exempla* in the sermons; as this work must be rare in this country, we mention where corresponding stories may be found in more accessible collections: *Gesta Rom.* 80, 125, 143, 171, 215, 249; Pauli, 19, 84, 222, 388, 398, 462; Kirchhof 1, 366; 1, 2, 50; La Fontaine vi, 4; Etienne de Bourbon, 43, 258, 298. In the *xxi Sermo de sanctis* may be found an interesting version of the legends of the wood of the cross, see Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 28.

turers and workmen, nobility, merchants, Jews, usurers, dancing, oaths, blasphemy and profanity, jesting and play, falsehood, sinful apparel, superstitions, duties of parents to children, and *vice versa*, how one can sin in eating, etc.”

The last collection we shall mention is that of Oswald Pelbart, usually called Pelbartus de Themeswar, a Franciscan monk from Themeswar in Hungary, who flourished in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and was widely known by his sermons. The collection bears the fantastic title of *Pomerium* (orchard), and consists of *sermones de tempore, de sanctis*, and *quadragesimales*.* Another work by the same author is usually bound up with one of the above collections. It bears the somewhat misleading title: *Pomerium sermonum de beata virgine dei genetrice vel Stellarium corone beate virginis pro singularum festivitatum eiusdem predicationibus coaptatum*. It is not, as might seem, a collection of sermons, but a treatise in twelve books for the use of preachers, and might perhaps more properly have been mentioned above. The last part of the twelfth book is devoted to the miracles of the Virgin. The *sermones de sanctis* number in all two hundred and twenty-one; ninety-seven in the *pars hyemalis*, and one hundred and twenty-four in the *pars estivalis*. As in Herolt, so here several sermons are devoted to the same feast, the first of the series containing the legend at the end of the sermon. The sermons are paragraphed in the usual way, and there are copious indices. The work no longer has an anecdotal character, a strict analytical method is pursued, and the writer generally confines his citations to the Scriptures, and the doctors of the Church.

We shall take leave of the last class of our subject with a brief reference to some sermons in the vulgar tongue containing *exempla*. They are the sermons of St. Bernardino of Siena, who died in 1444, and was canonized six years later. Thus far only ten of the forty-five Italian sermons of St. Bernardino have been edited (Siena, 1853), the *exempla*, however, to the number of thirty-eight have been extracted, and published by Francesco Zambrini, under the title: *Novellette, esempi morali e apologhi di San Bernardino da Siena*, Bologna, 1868 (*Scelta di curiosità letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo xiii al xvii, Dispensa xxvii*). Many of these *exempla* are contemporaneous anecdotes, here and there are found fables or stories forming part of the common stock of Europe. Among the fables are: iii, La Fontaine iii, 1; vi, *ibid.* xi, 6; ix, Voigt, *Kleinere latein. Denkmäler der Thiersage*, Strassburg, 1878, pp. 81, 138; xvii, “*Di una scimia la quale per vendetta arse uno orso*,” xxv, “*Dell’ asino delle tre ville*,” for the last two we have found no parallels. Among the stories are: xiv (Etienne de Bourbon, 456); viii (*ibid.* 385); xxix (*ibid.* 433, Pauli, 372).†

* For editions see Hain, Nos. 12548-66; Grässe ii, 2, 1, p. 420; Fabricius, *ed. cit.* v. 213. We have been able to procure the *sermones de sanctis* only in the edition of Hagenau, 1511, fol. containing also the *Stellarium coronae B. V.* mentioned above.

† While this article was in preparation, our eye fell on the following advertisement, which again proves that there is nothing new under the sun: “—— & Co.

We have performed our task in a very bungling manner if we have not enabled the reader to form some idea of the wealth of material buried in these long unused volumes, material of great value for the historian of manners and customs, and for one engaged in tracing the affiliation of the popular tales of Europe. As it is in the latter direction that our own interest chiefly lies, we may be pardoned for concluding this already lengthy article with some reference to the light thrown upon the diffusion of popular tales by the collections just examined. In these we find every class of popular tales except fairy stories—legends, jests, fables, etc. The extensive currency given to these stories by their reception into these collections can hardly be imagined. They were used by numberless preachers in their sermons to the people, and by them in turn repeated to others. We must bear in mind that down to the Reformation Europe constituted a homogeneous whole, and that there existed a *Weltliteratur* in Goethe's sense of the word. A legend or story that appealed to the imagination or taste had free circulation from Iceland to Sicily, and from Italy to Portugal. One or two examples will perhaps best illustrate the part played by the sermon-books in this diffusion. We have already mentioned La Fontaine's fable (vii, 10), *La Laitière et le pot au lait*, and have shown that before the version in the *Dialogus Creaturarum*, the fable was widely diffused by Jacques de Vitry and Etienne de Bourbon. A still more striking instance of another Oriental apologue introduced into Europe by the same channel is the fable which Gœdeke entitles *Asinus vulgi* (La Font. iii, 1' *Le Meunier, son Fils et l'Ane*), first found in an Occidental version in Jacques de Vitry, and copied from him by Etienne de Bourbon.* The former of the two stories just mentioned has become popular in the technical sense, and is found in Grimm's *Kinder-und Hausmärchen*, No. 164, *Der faule Heinz*, but in a version pointing to the Oriental original in the *Pantschatantra* and *Hitopadesa*. It would, however, not be difficult to find stories still existing among the people, and which were originally communicated to them by the sermon-books. An interesting instance of this is the story found in Grimm No. 145. The ungrateful son (*Der Undankbare Sohn*), which is so short that we may give it in full: "Once upon a time a man and his wife were sitting before their house-door, with a roast fowl on a table between them, which they were going to eat together. Presently the man saw his old father coming, and he quickly snatched up the fowl and concealed it, because he grudged sharing it, even with his own parent. The old man came, had a draught of water, and then went away again. As soon as he was gone, his son went to fetch the roast fowl again; but

will begin publication immediately of 'The Clerical Library,' or helps to sermonizing as the series might be called. Three of the proposed twelve volumes, each of which will be complete, are entitled, 'Three Hundred Outlines of Sermons on the N. T.,' and again on the O. T., and 'Outline Sermons to Children with Numerous Anecdotes.'

* See Gœdeke's article already mentioned in *Orient und Occident*, i, pp. 531, 733; Pauli, 577, to the references given in these articles may be added, San Bernardino, *Novellette*, p. 5.

when he touched it he saw that it was changed into a toad, which sprang upon his face and squatted there, and would not go away. When any one tried to take it off, it spat out poison and seemed about to spring in the face, so that at length nobody dared to meddle with it. Now this toad the ungrateful son was compelled to feed, lest it should feed on his flesh ; and with this companion he moved wearily about from place to place, and had no rest anywhere in this world." This very story is found in Etienne de Bourbon, 163, Bromyard, F. 22, Pelbartus, *Serm. de Temp. Hiem.*, 22, B, not to mention other works of the same class, which are mentioned in Oesterley's notes to Pauli, 437, and in Douhet, *Dictionnaire des Légendes*, col. 305, n. 158. Until quite recently Grimm's version was the only popular one known, but a version from Lower Brittany has lately been published by F. M. Luzel, *Légendes chrétiennes de la Basse-Bretagne*, Paris, 1881, vol. ii, p. 179, *Le Fils ingrat*. There are probably other popular versions which have not yet been collected, the class of legends or legendary and religious stories having been greatly neglected by collectors of popular literature. There is no need of insisting upon the importance of the *exempla* in the diffusion of stories, but we may mention in conclusion two cases of wholesale absorption of Oriental stories into collections of *exempla* or similar works. The first case is that of the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi, which has been taken up into the *Libro de Enxemplos* mentioned above ; the second is the Seven Wise Masters, a compend of which is found in the *Scala Coeli* of a Dominican monk, Joannes Junior, who lived in the middle of the XIV century, and wrote a work of the same general description as Bromyard's and Etienne de Bourbon's.* Separate stories from both of the above Oriental collections are frequently encountered among the popular tales of Europe, and their wide diffusion is doubtless due to their absorption into the above collections.

The Latitude of Haverford College Observatory. By Isaac Sharpless.

(Read before the American Philosophical Society, April 6, 1883.)

The latitude of Harverford College Observatory was determined in the year 1854, by Prof. Jos. G. Harlan, by the use of a transit instrument in the prime vertical. Imperfect records of his results and none at all of his computations remain, but from them he deduced a value of $40^{\circ} 0' 36.5''$.

In the spring of 1881, a zenith instrument was placed in position in the observatory. The telescope has an aperture of $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and with its standards revolves about a vertical axis. It is provided with micrometer and levels.

* This compend of Joannes Junior is of great importance in the study of the Western branch of the Seven Wise Masters, and has been reprinted by K. Goedeke in the *Orient und Occident*, iii, pp. 388-423, *Liber de septem Sapientibus*.